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THE VIRGINIA GAZETTE.

WITH THE FRESHEST ADVICES, BOTH FOREIGN AND DOMESTICK.

IN CIVITATE LIBERA LINGUAM MENTEMQUE LIBERAS ESSE DEBERE.----*Suet.* in TIB. S. 28.

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LETTERS written by the late Right Hon. PHILIP DORMER STANHOPE, Earl of *Cheſterfield*, to his Son *Philip Stanhope*, Eſq; late Envoy Extraordinary to the Court of *Dreſden*.

LETTER XXV.

ISLEWORTH, *September* 10, 1739.

SINCE you promiſe to give attention, and to mind what you learn, I ſhall give myſelf the trouble of writing to you again, and ſhall endeavour to inſtruct you in ſeveral things, that do not fall under Mr. Maittaire's province; and which, if they did, he could teach you much better than I can. I neither pretend nor propoſe to teach them you thoroughly; you are not yet of an age fit for it: I only mean to give you a general notion, at preſent, of ſome things that you muſt learn more particularly hereafter, and that will then be the eaſier to you, for having had a general idea of them now. For example, to give you ſome notion of hiſtory.

Hiſtory is an account, of whatever has been done by any country in general, or by any number of people, or by any one man: Thus, the Roman hiſtory is an account of what the Romans did, as a nation; the hiſtory of Catiline's conſpiracy, is an account of what was done by a particular number of people; and the hiſtory of Alexander the Great, written by Quintus Curtius, is the account of the life and actions of one ſingle man. Hiſtory is, in ſhort, an account or relation of any thing that has been done.

Hiſtory is divided into ſacred and prophane, ancient, and modern.

Sacred hiſtory is the Bible, that is, the Old and New Teſtament. The Old Teſtament is the hiſtory of the Jews, who were God's choſen people; and the New Teſtament is the hiſtory of Jeſus Chriſt, the ſon of God.

Prophane hiſtory is the account of the Heathen Gods, ſuch as you read in Ovid's metamorphoſes, and which you will know a great deal more of, when you come to read Homer, Virgil, and the other ancient poets.

Ancient hiſtory is the account of all the kingdoms and countries of the world, ſince the deſtruction of the Roman empire.

The perfect knowledge of hiſtory is extremely neceſſary; becauſe, as it informs us of what was done by other people, in former ages, it inſtructs us what to do in the like caſes. Beſides, as it is the common ſubject of converſation, it is a ſhame to be ignorant of it.

Geography muſt neceſſarily accompany hiſtory; for it would not be enough to know what things were done formerly, but where they were done; and geography, you know, is the deſcription of the earth, and ſhews us the ſituations of towns, countries, and rivers. For example; geography ſhows you that England is in the north of Europe, that London is the chief town of England, and that it is ſituated upon the river Thames, in the county of Middleſex: And the ſame of other towns and countries. Geography is likewiſe divided into ancient and modern; many countries and towns having, now, very different names from what they had formerly; and many towns, which made a great figure in ancient times, being now utterly deſtroyed, and not exiſting: as the two famous towns of Troy, in Aſia, and Carthage, in Africa; of both which there are not now the leaſt remains.

Read this with attention, and then go to play with as much attention; and ſo farewell.

Concluſion of the DEBATES *in the* IRISH HOUSE *of* COMMONS, *November* 25, 1775.

MR. Yelverton declared, it was ſtill his opinion, as it was at the opening of the ſeſſion, that the reſiſtance of the Americans was not rebellion; and how could he conſent to aid the fate of America, which depended on the deciſion of that night? The queſtion indeed was important, and deciſion very delicate. If we refuſe his Majeſty's requeſt, we incur the diſpleaſure of Great Britain; if we comply, we aid the deſigns of a deſpotic Miniſtry. In this dilemma what can guide us? Nothing but reaſon and juſtice. We have two acts of Parliament, declaring that 12,000 men are neceſſary for the defence of the kingdom; and we have juſt reſolved the ſame in the committee of ſupplies. Now, if we agree to part with a third part of that number, when there is no rebellion or invaſion in Great Britain, we contradict theſe acts of the legiſlature, and belie our own reſolutions. Great Britain pretends to a ſupreme authority over all her dominions, as well in regard to internal taxation as to commercial regulations. Does not this aſſertion include Ireland? It certainly does, and nothing is wanting but a plauſible pretext, or a proper opportunity to enforce it. This has been enforced in America; this cauſed the war, and therefore the war is unjuſt. Let Great Britain enjoy the wealth of both the Indies. Let London be the grand emporium of Europe. Let her exert her commercial powers over the ſea from pole to pole; but let us ſay to it, as to the ſea, hither thou ſhalt come, and no farther. If theſe bounds are exceeded, human nature will not ſubmit without murmuring, nor free born Britiſh ſpirits without reſiſtance. The changes have been long rung about taxation and repreſentation, but men have bewildered themſelves on that ſubject for want of ſetting out on proper and legal grounds. Repreſentation is not a repreſentation of perſons, but of property. At firſt writs were iſſued to all who held of the crown in capite. Theſe were about 730 in number, and ſat in the right of their property held in feudal tenure, and not by any election. As commerce encreaſed, property was purchaſed, and extended into many hands. The property of ſeven hundred became diſſeminated amongſt numbers, too great to convene and ſit in their own rights. Thoſe who poſſeſſed what was the property of one great Baron elected one or more of their number to repreſent the whole of the property thus divided, and thence derived the right of repreſentation. The caſe became the ſame in cities and corporations which held in capite from the crown. The whole corporation could not come to vote, therefore the corporation elected its repreſentative. This proves how true that aſſertion was of Lord Chatham, that every blade of graſs in Great Britain was repreſented. But not one American blade of graſs is repreſented in the Britiſh Parliament; therefore it cannot be juſtly taxed there; and this ſhews the folly and abſurdity of the ſo much talked of virtual repreſentation, and ſaying that many thouſands in Britain were not repreſented more than the Americans. Many Engliſh perſons may not indeed, but the whole Engliſh landed property is. Engliſhmen ſurely did not loſe their ſpirit as well as their rights by croſſing the Atlantic? No, they did not; they carried thither their free-born ſpirit before it was contaminated with an influx of Aſiatic wealth. From all this it appears the war of Britain with her colonies is unjuſt; nor is it likely it ſhould ſucceed under the auſpices of that Miniſtry who ſo unjuſtly raiſed it; for we ſee twelve colonies united, who are different in ſituation, different in intereſts, different in religion, different in manners, different in every thing but ſpirit. What has been the ſucceſs of the Britiſh arms againſt theſe people? We have ſeen the Britiſh navy, the terror of the world, which uſed to carry thunder to every part of the globe, now ſailing from one little iſland to another, for the glorious purpoſe of pilfering a few cattle. We have ſeen the Britiſh troops pent up in Boſton neck. We have ſeen a Miniſtry plotting and purchaſing counter addreſſes to cover their diſgrace, and ſending troops abroad in the moſt dangerous ſeaſon of the year, to encounter tempeſts which ſeem to have been raiſed by Providence, on purpoſe to prevent more from embruing their hands in their brethren's blood. But, if even it was juſt to ſend our troops, and they were likely to ſucceed, yet it would be inexpedient; for if we ſhould join to ſubdue reſiſtance, would it not be a precedent againſt ourſelves, if ever we ſhould reſiſt againſt a like oppreſſion? Had we foreſeen, or been acquainted with this meaſure, and that we ſhould have ſaved ſo much on the military eſtabliſhment before we had voted the tontine ſcheme, we might have ſaved 16,000l. but it ſeems to have been kept in petto till all the demanded ſupplies had been granted.

Captain French ſpoke next againſt the meaſure, and Mr. Prime Serjeant for it.

Mr. Foſter ſaid the only point to be conſidered was, whether this meaſure would bring on a reconciliation, which he thought it would. It was clear that the wiſh of America was a total independence; and if we refuſe to ſend theſe troops, we prevent a reconciliation, by hindering Great Britain from enforcing reaſonable terms, which, if properly enforced, the Americans might agree to. But, if we even agree to ſend theſe troops, we do not thereby condemn the Americans, we only aſſiſt Great Britain in her time of need. In regard to the ſupplies, though they are voted, the money bills are not paſſed, and Gentlemen may make ſuch retrenchments in them as they think neceſſary.

Mr. Charmon ſaid that he did not expect to hear ſuch a meſſage after the many aſſurances of the Miniſter, that the 12,000 men were completely in this kingdom, and ſhould remain ſo inviolably; and, after the promiſes of Adminiſtration, that nothing ſhould be expected from this country to America, but the addreſs to the throne. That notwithſtanding the Committee of Supply had reſolved 12,000 men were neceſſary for our defence, and had provided for them accordingly; yet while theſe aſſurances, the very ſounds yet tingled in their ears, the Miniſter forgot himſelf in the meſſenger of the crown, not to bring to their longing eyes the Olive Branch, the emblem of much wiſhed for peace; but he lays his hand on his ſword and becomes the harbinger of war. That he congratulated Adminiſtration on at length finding out that hitherto inviſible deity of theirs, but on cloſer inſpection, he was ſorry to diſcover that deity, like the God of the Egyptians, plainly and ſimply—a BULL. That if the Miniſter was ſerious when he promiſed economy, he ought to leſſen the ſupply in proportion to that economy; *to* content himſelf with fewer taxes, and to diminiſh his demands. That he called on him to do ſo, but he found him ſilent on that point; and therefore muſt conclude no real economy was in his contemplation. That one year's ſaving was the utmoſt that was mentioned. That ſuch reduction was paltry indeed, contraſted with the probable loſs of 4000 gallant countrymen, devoted ſacrifices to appeaſe the fury of an incenſed, a deſpairing people, in defence of their rights, confident againſt the world in arms. That the tears of the forlorn widow, the cries of the helpleſs orphan, could not be weighed in the money ſcale of a Miniſter. That this kingdom would be left expoſed to every enemy, allured by ſuch proſpects. That the aſking the conſent of Parliament was a farce in politics, and an undermining of a poſitive act of Parliament. That it was well known that the crown always deſired the conſent of a dean and chapter to the appointment of an intended Biſhop; but it was never yet known that the perſon nominated did not ſucceed to the epiſcopal dignity.

Mr. Solicitor General ſaid, as the expence to be incurred was the chief argument uſed againſt the augmentation, ſo no Gentleman, who voted then againſt it, can conſiſtently oppoſe the meaſure by which the expence is taken away. He begged the firſt reſolution might be diſpoſed of, before they entered into the conſideration of the ſecond; adding, that if we refuſed the requeſt of the crown, we ſhould hurt the Americans, by miſleading them to their ruin.

Mr. James Brown ſpoke in defence of the meaſure.

Mr. Conolly urged his fears for Ireland from eſtabliſhing a precedent, and mentioned that the King's ſpeech, at opening the Britiſh Parliament, declared the ſupremacy over *all* his dominions. He repeated and enforced what had been ſaid about a land tax He laid on by England, and enforced by foreign mercenaries. He took notice of the intelligence an Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Gardiner) had derived of the hoſtile intentions of foreign powers, from the *Cabinets* of foreign Courts. Here Mr. Gardiner ſaid the Right Honourable Gentleman had miſtaken him; he had only ſaid *Courts*, not *Cabinets*. Mr. Conolly replied he had indeed miſtaken, but the miſtake was eaſily made, as he knew no Gentleman more fit for a Lady's or a Privy Counſellors's cabinet than the Honourable Gentleman.

Mr. Huſſey Burgh then roſe, and introduced his opinion relative to the queſtion, with obſerving that although he had generally voted on that ſide of the Houſe, which is called oppoſition, yet he had ſet it down as a maxim never to give his ſupport to a motion which was calculated to harraſs the Miniſter, and not to ſerve the people: That when there was a conſiderable majority evident on the part of Government, he thought it beſt not to hazard a queſtion, which there was a certainty of loſing; that he made, for this reaſon, fewer motions than any man in the Houſe; that he had no enemies to perſecute, no partiſans to ſerve; and that this might account for his ſilence during the preſent ſeſſion; but he ſaid the preſent queſtion was of the greateſt importance, a queſtion ariſing from a meſſage ſent by the King to his Parliament, to which an anſwer muſt be given: That, without paſſion, without prejudice, and without fear, he would deliver his opinion; and that the man did not live, who knew on which ſide of the queſtion that opinion would turn. He then entered largely into the conſequences which might attend the putting this meaſure into execution; took a ſhort view of the American war, which he termed unjuſt, as it not only militated againſt the law of nations, the law of the land, the law of humanity, but againſt the law of nature. He mentioned the embruing our hands in the blood of our kinſmen and near relations; and that the ſaving, which was mentioned as a motive to induce our ſupporting the Miniſtry, was no more than a bribe to purchaſe our aſſiſtance to cut the throats of the Americans; that if the war was juſt, there was no neceſſity to bribe our concurrence; that the right of taxation demanded by Great Britain was unjuſt, for that it was contrary to all reaſon that a people, who were the ſubjects of Great Britain, ſhould, in reſpect to their property, be at the mercy of two powers, and acknowledge a right of taxation, both in their own Aſſemblies, and in the Britiſh Senate; that if this was the caſe, they could not boaſt any property, for every ſhilling they enjoyed might, by one act of Parliament, in which they were not repreſented, be taken from them for ever: That inſtead of a ſaving, this meaſure would, in all probability, become a burthen, and obſerved our civil eſtabliſhment would always increaſe whenever the military decreaſed; and that the preſent ſaving would be only a temporary relief, which would bring on a future evil; for that when our own troops returned, then our military would fall back into the original expence, with the additional burthen of what the civil eſtabliſhment may have increaſed. He then mentioned our defenceleſs ſtate, and inſiſted that we had not more than 9000 fighting men; men who marched on their legs, and not on paper; men who could ſtand fire, and not calculation. He diſpoſed very judiciouſly the arrangement of our troops, and clearly proved that we muſt be open to the inſurrections of the White Boys in the South, and the Steel Boys in the North; and that then the murdering and the maiming of our wives and children would fall on our own heads. That France looked on this quarrel with a peculiar pleaſure, and that we had a ſecurity in their promiſes no longer than the hopes of accommodation with the colonies exiſted; for whenever they diſappeared, and that by this war we were weakened, then it was poſſible and probable, with a very ſmall force, they would do ſuch a ſignal miſchief to this kingdom as might be irreparable. He took a view of the commercial intereſt of France with America, and mentioned how probable it was they would ſacrifice their friendſhip to England for a lucrative connection with America, and pictured the conſequences in ſtriking figures of reaſoning. He mentioned the diſturbances which might ariſe from the importation of theſe foreign troops, and aſked by what laws they were to be tried for offences in this kingdom? Whether they were to be ſubject to a jury of this country, or to a court-martial among themſelves? And if the latter, what dreadful conſequences might follow. He then returned to the juſtice on which this requeſt was founded, and ſaid ſuch was his opinion of it, he would not vote a ſingle ſword againſt America, without an addreſs to accompany it, recommending conciliatory meaſures: That he foreſaw the conſequences of this war; and that, if the Miniſtry were victorious, it would only be eſtabliſhing a right to the harveſt, when they had burned the grain; it would be only eſtabliſhing a right to the ſtream, when they had cut off the fountain.

Sir John Blaquiere ſaid he was totally ignorant of this meaſure when the ſeſſion opened. That it would have been wrong to have deducted the ſaving from the votes of ſupplies, before it was known whether the troops would be ſent or not. That if the ſupplies are raiſed, and there is a redundancy, on account of this meaſure, it would be liable to the diſpoſal of Parliament next ſeſſions.

The queſtion was then put on the firſt reſolution, and committee divided, ayes 121; noes 76; majority 45.

It being then near midnight, the conſideration of the ſecond reſolution was adjourned till Monday.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 27.

The Committee of the whole Houſe ſat till half paſt eleven, on the queſtion of admitting 4000 Heſſian and Brunſwick troops, when at length the Committee divided, ayes for admitting the troops 68; noes 106; majority againſt the foreign troops 38.

Extracts from a SPEECH *of a* VIRGINIA *Gentleman at the Temple, in the Society of* BILL OF RIGHTSMEN, London.

MR. PRESIDENT,

I AM not the author of the queſtion before you, but I think it a good one. It is meant to involve the whole of that important controverſy: *Are the Americans juſtifiable in their reſiſtance to unrepreſented taxation?*

Taxation and repreſentation, Sir, by the Britiſh conſtitution, cannot be diſunited. Such a diſunion would be directly to murder the firſt principles of our happy eſtabliſhment, the very eſſence of which conſiſts in the right of repreſentation. If then the Americans are to be conſidered as Britiſh ſubjects, they are entitled to the privileges of Britons; they are entitled to a full and

perfect representation. They are not, however, and from the nature and situation of things, it is granted, even by their enemies, that they cannot be represented in the British Parliament. Then to do that without representation, which by the true intention of the constitution requires the most perfect representation, is undoubtedly to violate that great, that important, that essential right, upon which the liberties of these kingdoms must for ever depend. And when these rights are violated, Sydney, Locke, and the law of reason, will tell us, that the practical dissolution of all government ought to follow. Or, as my Lord Chief Justice Holt expresses it, "*When the liberty of the subject is invaded, it is a provocation to all the subjects of the realm.*"

I will beg leave, Sir, to go deeper into the argument; and, not confining myself to taxation, I will confidently affirm, that *no power on earth has a right to make or establish laws, prerogatives, or regulations, binding on the Americans, without their consent.* This is the ground on which the dispute should have turned from the beginning. These are the rights of British subjects, which have been granted them by the God of nature. They have been confirmed to them by solemn compacts between the Sovereign and the subject; and they claim protection from that sacred usage, which commenced in our constitution before the memory of the oldest man alive. To sacrifice and give up these consecrated rights is to sacrifice themselves, their aged parents, their wives and children, the honours and sepulchres of their ancestors, the claims and blessings of posterity.——To this last object I would wish to fix their attention.——There is an awful duty upon the Americans, to preserve the rights and liberties which have been transmitted to them from their ancestors; and, without unnatural barbarity, they cannot suffer the dearest inheritance of their children to be destroyed, or impaired.

There was a plan presented by my Lord Chatham, and said to be dictated by the American agents, which too tamely gave up many of these invaluable privileges. I know not whether it was the general sense of America, but this I am sure of, that my Lord Chatham's political refinements, from the beginning of this controversy, have been of infinite prejudice, both to Great Britain and America, by perplexing the arguments, and turning the minds of the people from the true object of contention. His distinction between external and internal taxation is founded, not on the liberties of mankind, but on his *own preconceived laws of colonization.* His idea of the line to be drawn between Great Britain and America is too finely spun to hold together, or to be reduced to practice. He has always confined himself to taxation, and lost sight of that leading principle of the constitution, *that no law, rule, or regulation, shall be made binding on the subject, without his consent.*

This is the only line which can be drawn with safety to America, and security to the British constitution. If they relax in any instance from these claims, however small that instance may be, who can tell, but in a very little time all those privileges, though ever so dear, though ever so valuable, may be ravished from them? One precedent creates another; they begin as matter of doubt, they end as solid doctrine. In a momentary space of time they assume the form of established laws. The Romans were led from shades and gradations of misbelief and wickedness, so as at last not to be at all surprised and alarmed at the loss of all their liberties, and the total subversion of the Roman empire. I again repeat it, *that no power on earth has a right to make laws, rules, or regulations, binding on the Americans, without their consent.*

Let us now examine the important argument of protection, taken in the popular acceptation of the word. It is upon this argument of protection, and the fanciful dignity of Parliament, that fire and sword are sent like a pestilence to every corner of America. Sir, the Americans are not protected merely because they are British subjects; they are protected upon three grand considerations, resulting from self-interest; upon the extensive and beneficial advantages of their commerce and seamen; upon the dignity and importance they communicate to the British empire in every part of the globe; and upon the fear and danger of their falling into the hands of some other power, who, in consequence of such an acquisition, might discompose the balance of European politics. They feed many millions of people in Great Britain, Ireland, and the West Indies. The landed property is more than quadrupled by that connection. The navy of England, and the land army, are in a chief manner supported by their beneficial commerce. There is not a planter or a farmer in North America that does not pay at least more than quadruple the taxes that the inhabitants of Great Britain do; not, indeed, under the express denomination of taxes, but they pay them in substance. They pay them in the prodigious advantages on their exports and imports. There is not an article of British manufactory which goes from this country, that does not, upon an average with the articles of other countries, bear at least 150 *per cent.* when sold to the British Americans; and the Americans are obliged to purchase them, because they are so restricted by the British Parliament, that they cannot purchase them elsewhere.—— There are some of their principal exports which have fallen at least 200 *per cent.* since the restrictions on their trade; and the Americans are obliged to sell them at that low valuation, because they are so restricted by the British legislature that they cannot carry them to any other market. But all their weighty considerations are not enough! The colonies must be taxed at pleasure, by unlimited authority! The royal confidence, and their own solemn charters, must be totally annihilated! They must become perfect slaves, and ALL on the score of *protection!* Sir the Americans want no protection at the expence of their liberties. They would rather be exterminated than breathe under so wretched an existence. At any rate they will try the contest with you; and why should they not? They have many bright examples to illuminate the path before them. They have the best troops in the world for an American war, hardy and intrepid; they are brought up to difficulties, and they are the best marksmen in the world. They have innumerable resources within themselves. The manufactories of arms and ammunition are rapidly advancing; and, above all, they have a title built upon that foundation against which "the gates of despotism can never prevail."

The Gentleman has told us, with all the pomp and strains of theatrical declamation, of "the heinous crime of American ingratitude; that if Great Britain had not protected the colonies they would have laboured under the deplorable misfortune of falling into the hands of France." Suppose they had, Sir? If that Gentleman was well acquainted with historical records, he would know, *that the colonies of free states have been always more uniformly oppressed than the colonies of a pure monarchy, or even of despotism itself.* I make no doubt the Americans would rather be subject to the dominion of a KING of France, among a sensible and polite people, than be subject to the uncontrouled dominion of a rapacious and unconfined *aristocracy*, in a land overflowing with venality and corruption.—And if *even subjection* to the King of France is more desirable than subjection to the British Parliament, how much more readily will the Americans embrace the league, offensive and defensive, which we are well assured is held out to them by more European states than one.

It is a melancholy truth, Sir, that the British government has sunk from its original purity to a confined aristocracy. It is now confirmed, by fatal experience, to be a thing impossible for the few Ministers who govern to entertain a sincere regard for the many people who are governed; or that the friends and hirelings of arbitrary power will not endeavour to fetter those men who would choose to live and die in a free constitution. It is a point still more indubitable, that the few at the helm of affairs in Britain can have no sincere regard for the many that are put under their protection in America. From the late occurrences in the British Parliament, we want no further evidence to determine that matter; nor can we imagine but they will use every effort to enchain those colonies of North America which they have *falsely* pretended have long been inclined to *republican principles.* For my part, as a North Briton said before me (and, by the bye, it was a rare phenomænon in a North Briton) *I do profess a speculative predilection for that form of government*; but I am convinced that the people of America would rather live under a *mixed*, under a *limited monarchy*, SO CONSTITUTED AS OURS, than under the most perfect REPUBLIC that ever was established upon earth. At the same time, Sir, I speak it, to the immortal honour of America, that the manners of those brave people are strictly and wholly *republican.*

You have been told, Sir, a great deal this evening about *American independence.* I shall be happy to place that matter in its proper light. The Americans wish for that peaceable re-establishment of the political and commercial union between Great Britain and the colonies which existed and subsisted at the close of the last war. They think it an object most ardently to be wished for. They tell you so from the General Congress, from every Assembly on the continent, from every county committee, and in every action of their lives. Why then can you not rely on them? Have they ever forfeited their title to veracity? I defy the Gentleman to point me out a single instance in which they have ever deviated, in a collective body, from the strictest laws of moral and political truth. To misrepresent a people at so great a distance, and upon a matter of the very first importance, where their lives, their properties, their liberties, and their laws are at stake, is cruel and unjust. But it has been the fate of those unhappy people to have been misrepresented in every instance. Accept then of their offer, *repeal the obnoxious acts, recall your fleets and armies, and things will quickly subside into their old and wonted channel.* Yet, in my opinion, such a connection is not the most eligible on the part of America.——But if you drive them to despair, necessity will oblige them to embrace that independence which has existed only in your own fears and apprehensions. For rather than submit to the British Ministry in their former and present despotic proceedings, the Americans will choose to exist independent of the mother country, though *civil war and bloodshed were to be held in perpetual prospect.*

My opponents in this controversy have asserted, that the Americans have not only acted in opposition to the British Parliament, but in opposition to their Sovereign. I affirm, Sir, that the one is a natural, an unavoidable consequence of the other; flowing, not from disloyalty in the Americans, but from the cruel and unprincely part which the *Sovereign* has taken against them. The original compact between the Sovereign and the people is, that if the Sovereign will protect, and secure to them, the rights and liberties of the constitution, they will pay him obedience and subjection. Such a contract is founded on the good of society; it is therefore ultimately founded on the laws of nature. In an establishment, this is the genuine meaning of the word protection. I agree with the Gentleman that protection and subjection are duties reciprocal; but when the protecting power fails in his part of the original contract, the subject is no longer held to the condition of obedience, but of consequence falls back into the primary state of nature, the condition of which state is to commence a new system of legislation. By this reasoning I mean to say, that if the King of England will afford this sort of protection to his American subjects, those subjects will always be ready to pay him obedience; but if the King of England will not afford this sort of protection to his American subjects, nor secure them from the insults and oppressions of his despotic Ministers, they will no longer render him subjection; they will begin a new system of civil and political regulations. This is the theory I mean to maintain, and this is the practice I would put into execution.

From the PENNSYLVANIA GAZETTE.

Messieurs HALL and SELLERS.

By inserting the following in your impartial paper, you will oblige a friend and customer.

"*The republican spirit is indeed at bottom as ambitious as the*
"*monarchical.* VOLTAIRE.

THE town has been lately amused with a new political pamphlet, entitled *Common Sense.*

This piece, though it has taken a popular name, and implies that the contents are obvious, and adapted to the understandings of the bulk of the people, is so far from meriting the title it has assumed, that in my opinion it holds principles equally inconsistent with learned and common sense.

I know not the author, nor am I anxious to learn his name or character; for the book, and not the writer of it, is to be the subject of my animadversions.

It is the glory of a free country to enjoy a FREE PRESS, and of this, that the sentiments and opinions of the meanest, equally with those of the greatest, are brought to view; for we know, by frequent instances, that the rich and high-born are not the monopolizers of wisdom and virtue: On the contrary, these qualities are oftener to be found among the middling class in every country, who, being less dissipated and debauched than those who are usually called their betters, apply themselves with more industry to the culture of their understandings, and in reality become better acquainted with the true interests of the society in which they live.

But, to my great grief, I have too often seen instances of persons, in every class of life, whose publications, at the same time they have reflected honour on the parts and genius of the authors, have been so shamefully wanting in candour as to attempt, by the cadence of words, and force of stile, a total perversion of the understanding.

The pamphlet in question seems to be plainly calculated to induce a belief of three things.

1st. That the English form of government has no wisdom in it, and that it is by no means so constructed as to produce the happiness of the people, which is the end of all good government.

2d. That monarchy is a form of government inconsistent with the will of God.

3d. That now is the time to break off all connexion with Great Britain, and to declare an independence of the colonies.

It must be obvious, to every impartial eye, that the author reasons from the abuses of, against the benefits derived from, the English constitution; and after reciting these abuses concludes, very unfairly, that "it is incapable to produce what it seems to promise." For if an argument of this sort is to be received, it will prove perhaps rather more than the auther would choose; it would even prove that the Jewish theocracy was quite as improper, and as incapable to produce what it aimed at, as the reprobated English government. The records of sacred history informs us, that the law was given to the people from God, and that the great Jehovah himself condescended to call them his *chosen people.* He signally interposed in their behalf in bringing them out of bondage, in preserving them from the rage of Pharoah's army, and seating them in a land flowing with milk and honey, under his immediate government and laws, "written with his own finger."

"And he will love thee, and bless thee, and multiply thee: He will also bless the fruit of thy womb, and the fruit of thy land, thy corn, and thy wine, and thy oil; the increase of thy kine, and the flocks of thy sheep, in the land which he sware unto thy fathers to give thee." *Deut.* vii. 13.

"Thou shalt be blessed above all people; there shall not be male or female barren among you, or among your cattle." *Deut.* vii. 14.

But what effects did all these extraordinary favours and promises of the deity himself produce upon that wicked, perverse, stiff-necked people? Moses tells them,

"From the day that thou didst depart out of the land of Egypt, until ye came unto this place, ye have been rebellious against the Lord." *Deut.* ix. 7.

"You have been rebellious against the Lord from the day that I knew you." *Deut.* ix. 24.

Profane, as well as sacred history, informs us of the ineffectuality of the best governments, and the wisest laws, among a corrupt, degenerate people. It does not regularly follow, that if the people are not happy under an excellent form of civil polity, that the fault is in the government; it may be owing to the corruption of the people, and this I take to be the case in Great Britain at this day. When the British Parliament is properly balanced, and each branch of the legislature faithfully executes its duty, I think I am safe in affirming, there was never yet a form of government in the world so well calculated for the happiness of a free people as this; and yet we are told, by the author of the pamphlet, that the "prejudice of Englishmen in favour of King, Lords, and Commons, arises as much, or more, from national pride than reason." The world has already seen numberless instances of fine spun political theories, which, like the quackeries of mountebank doctors, are to cure all the political evils to which human nature is liable; but when the experiment is made, they become astonished at the ill success of their boasted schemes; they find a thousand little passions and interests continually interfering with their designs, and at length retire again to their closets, chagrined they had not thought it necessary to study the great volume of human nature before they ventured to say what was the best for mankind.

The author, after venting his spleen against the English form of government, comes next to consider the subject of monarchy and hereditary succession; in treating which he plainly discovers the utmost prepossession in favour of a republic. I shall not follow him through his scripture quotations, which he has so carefully garbled to answer his purpose, but beg leave to oppose some authorities to it.

The celebrated Trenchard, in No. 60. of Cato's Letters, says, "There is no government now upon earth which owes its formation or beginning to the immediate revelation of God, or can derive its existence from such revelation: It is certain, on the contrary, that the rise and institution, or variation of government, from time to time, is within the memory of men, or of histories; and that every government, which we know at this day in the world, was established by the wisdom and force of mere men, and by the concurrence of causes evidently human."

"Nor has God by any revelation nominated magistrates, shewed the nature or extent of their powers, or given a plan of civil polity for mankind. [HUTCH. *Mor. Philos. p.* 272.]

"*There being no natural or divine law for any form of government*, or that one person rather than another should have the sovereign administration of affairs, or have power over many thousand different families, who are by nature all equal, being of the same rank, promiscuously born to the same advantages of nature, and to the use of the same common faculties, therefore *mankind is at liberty to choose what form of government they like.*"

"God's providence, or permission, suffered his own peculiar people (the Jews) to be under divers governments at divers times; as first under Patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, &c. then under Judges, Othniel, Ehud, and Gideon; then under High Priests, Eli and Samuel; then under Kings, Saul, David, and the rest; then under Captains and High Priests again, "as Zerobabel, Judas, Maccabeus, and his brethren; and the government was lastly taken from them, and they brought under the power of Rome. And that God permits such magistrate or magistrates as the community thinks fit to approve, is plain by the testimony of holy scriptures: When God said to Solomon, "By me Kings rule, even all the Judges of the earth." *Prov.* viii. 16.

"When the sons of Samuel were Judges over Israel, they took bribes and perverted judgment; therefore the elders of Israel desired Samuel to make them a King. And though the elders are only mentioned to have asked a King of Samuel, they seem to have been deputed from the whole congregation: For God said unto Samuel, "*Hearken to the voice of the people in all that they say unto thee.*" 1 Sam. viii. 4, 7.

"*And Samuel told the people the manner of the kingdom, and wrote it in a book, and laid it up before the Lord.* 1 Sam. x. 25. It is plain the manner of the kingdom signifies the constitution of the government, by which was meant the conditions on which Saul was to be King, and they his subjects; for though *God had given him the Crown*, it was to rule the people according to justice and laws."

"After the battle between Saul and the Ammonites, Samuel said to the people, *Come, let us go to Gilgal*; *and there they made Saul King before the Lord.* 1 Sam xi 1, 5, 6, 7, 14, 15. *Now therefore behold the King, whom ye have chosen*; *and behold the Lord hath set a King over you.*" Sam. chap. xii. 13.

These latter quotations are taken from the great Lord Somers's book, called "The Judgment of whose Kingdoms and Nations, concerning the Rights of Kings and the People." This nobleman was Lord High Chancellor of England in King William's reign, and was remarkable for his revolution principles, great learning, and unshaken integrity, in public and private life.

It does therefore, from the foregoing testimonies, appear, that monarchy (especially a limited one, such as that of England) is not inconsistent with the holy scriptures, as is set forth in said pamphlet, but that it is as pleasing to the Almighty, if agreeable to the people, as any other form of government, even the author's beloved *republic.*

The writer next proceeds to inform his readers of the numerous wars and scenes of blood acted in England under their Kings, and asserts, that "*Monarchy and succession have laid the world in blood and ashes. It is a form of government which the word of God bears testimony against, and blood will attend it.* Here are bold assertions indeed! To the latter part I have already endeavoured to make some reply, so far as he asserts it is contrary to the word of God: But will the author's candour permit him to inform his reader of the infinite distractions and mischiefs which have happened in the ancient and modern republics? Under this form there are always two parties, which divide the whole body of the people, and an eternal warfare subsists between them for power. The *contest* is dreadful enough; but which soever party *prevails*, there is no rod heavy enough, no sword sufficiently sharp, to punish those whom they have subdued. It then becomes a many-headed monster, a tyranny of many.

Let any man read, with an unprejudiced eye, the accounts which historians give us of the famous Grecian commonwealths, and I will venture to speak for him, that he will not bestow great commendations on them. The Athenians, a wise and polished people, very often banished their best citizens, from an apprehension of their power: A glorious reward for a virtuous citizen, who, as was the case in more instances than one, had preserved his country from destruction. In the latter times of the Carthagenian and Roman republics, what constant scenes of blood and devastation does history present to us! The multitude in a perpetual ferment, like the ocean in a storm: In a storm did I say! Like the waters of the sea, agitated by a dreadful whirlwind; nothing but the fury of one party encountering the rage of another,

Every trace of humanity being thus loſt, men change their natures, and become as fierce and ſavage as wolves and tigers.

But let us deſcend nearer to modern times. Let us look for happineſs and ſecurity in the republic of Holland, ſo often mentioned, and ſo little known. Let us recollect the fate of the two brothers, Cornelius and John de Wit, Dutch Miniſters, who were maſſacred by the people in the year 1672. Holland itſelf, from being a republic, is become a downright ariſtocracy. Liberty did not continue long in that country, notwithſtanding the blood and treaſure that were expended to acquire it. The people, ſo far from being free, have had no voice for many years paſt in the election of perſons to repreſent them in the States General; nor have they any thing to do in the forming of laws by which they are to be governed. Whenever one of them dies, the vacancy is filled up without any interference of the people; and this important change was made in the ſtate, becauſe of the intolerable feuds and animoſities which attended the elections of repreſentatives. Had they been to have choſen a King, what dangerous and deſtructive tumults muſt it have produced. Founded on the woful experience of ages, it is now become a general fixed opinion, that hereditary is preferable to elective monarchy, on account of the terrible diſorders, outrages, and confuſions, which uſually attend the election of a King; a pregnant inſtance of which, in our times, is the kingdom of Poland.

In our own hiſtory, we ſee what was the effect of the much wiſhed for commonwealth after the death of the tyrant Charles: It did not produce liberty; it preſently ended in arbitrary power. The moment almoſt after the reins of government fell from Charles's hands, Cromwell took them up, and governed the nation with abſolute ſway.

I cannot agree with the author of the pamphlet in opinion, that this is the time to declare an independence of the colonies. This ought to be the dernier reſort of America. Let us not yet loſe ſight of the primary object of the diſpute, namely, a ſafe, honourable, and laſting reconciliation with Great Britain, until we are under a neceſſity of doing it. If an advantageous accommodation can be had, and a free conſtitution for this country be eſtabliſhed on mutual agreement and compact, it will be better and happier for us. But if juſtice is ſtill denied us, and we are to contend for liberty by arms, we will meet them in the field, and try our manhood againſt them, even to ſpilling the blood of every brave man we have. Should the Miniſtry have recourſe to foreign aid, we may poſſibly follow their example; and, if it be eſſential then to our ſafety to declare an independence, I would willingly embrace the neceſſity. RATIONALIS.

EXTRACTS from the votes and proceedings of the General Aſſembly of the colony of NEW-JERSEY.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 28, 1775.

"*The Houſe took into conſideration the inquiry had yeſterday, touching the petitions preſented to this Houſe; and it appearing, from the petitioners of the city of Burlington, who were called in and heard, that they ſigned the ſame from reports that ſome men affected independency; and being alarmed at ſuch ſentiments, they were induced to preſent the petition, hoping that the Houſe would diſcourage ſuch ſentiments by their reſolutions. Whereupon the ſeveral petitions being read a ſecond time,*

"RESOLVED, *that reports of independency, in the apprehenſion of this Houſe, are groundleſs.*

"RESOLVED, *that it be recommended to the Delegates of the colony to uſe their utmoſt endeavours for the obtaining a redreſs of American grievances, and for reſtoring the union between the colonies and Great Britain upon conſtitutional principles.*

"RESOLVED, *that the ſaid Delegates be directed not to give their aſſent to, but utterly to reject, any propoſitions, if ſuch ſhould be made, that may ſeparate this colony from the mother country, or change the form of government thereof.*"

IN CONGRESS, February 26, 1776.

RESOLVED, *that no veſſel loaded for Great Britain, Ireland, or the Britiſh Weſt Indies, be permitted to ſail until the farther order of this Congreſs; and that it be recommended to the different committees of inſpection and obſervation, to ſee that this reſolution be carried into execution. Ordered to be publiſhed.*

Extract from the minutes. C. THOMSON, *Sec'ry.*

BASSETERRE *(St. Kitt's) Jan.* 17.

IN our paper of the 30th of laſt month we mentioned an action that happened in the Mediterranean, between an Engliſh man of war of 64 guns, and a French 74 gun ſhip. We can now inform our readers, that the Medway was the Engliſh ſhip, and that the commander was Admiral Mann, in which action he loſt his life, and the ſhip rendered uſeleſs. The French ſhip, it was thought, could make no port.

From Montſerrat we have an account that Capt. Fergus and ſome other London ſhips are arrived there in 35 days, and that they bring the news of fifty ſail of tranſports ſailing through the Downs with them for Boſton.

WORCESTER, *March* 1.

WE are told a Gentleman who came out of Boſton laſt Friday reports, that the enemy have taken away their mortars from Bunker's hill, and carried them to Boſton; that a council of war had been held in Boſton for ſeveral days; that General Howe had adviſed the Mandamus Counſellors to go to England, and the tories to leave the town; that all the veſſels in the harbour that were not in the King's ſervice were taken up to tranſport the tories and their effects; and that it was furniſhed in Boſton, that ſhould another battle enſue, and the regulars be defeated, they would ſet fire to the town, and remove to ſome other part of the continent. It is a prevailing opinion, that ſomething extraordinary will turn up in the courſe of a few days.

NEW YORK, *March* 6.

WE hear by a Gentleman from Rhode Iſland, that the Macaroni privateer had taken a tranſport ſhip from London. It is ſaid that there were found on board orders for General Howe only to act on the defenſive till further orders.

We hear a number of troops are evacuating Boſton, and embarking on board the tranſports; and it is thought they intend to viſit New York very ſhortly.

We are juſt informed that our army at Roxbury had regained poſſeſſion of Dorcheſter-Neck, and had brought with them ſome mortars and battering cannon.

PHILADELPHIA, *March* 9.

Extract of a letter from New York, *March* 6.

A LETTER from Cambridge, of the 29th ult. informs, that preparations were ſtill making for getting to work on Dorcheſter Neck and Boſton; that the enemy were well acquainted with their deſigns, and had lately thrown up ſeveral works to weaken our fire; that on the 28th, they (the enemy) completed a bomb battery and a gun ſketch oppoſite Letchmore's point, and promiſe our folks a viſit as ſoon as they break ground on Dorcheſter; that the principal part of their heavy cannon, hoſpital ſtores, &c. are on board ſhip; all the ſquare rigged veſſels in the harbour are taken up, and received two months advance to tranſport the troops and tory inhabitants, if neceſſary, to a leſs hoſtile ſhore; that Monday or Tueſday next will be the important day; that we have forty five batteaus, each to carry eighty men, and two floating batteries, ſtationed at the mouth of Cambridge river; if the enemy make a ſerious affair of Dorcheſter, we may ruſh into the weſt part of Boſton; the enemy's ſtrength (marines, tories, and Negroes, included) about 7000----ours about 20,000; that two of our privateers had fallen in with an armed brig of 13 guns, engaged her for three hours, and ſent her off on the careen.

WILLIAMSBURG, *March* 23.

WE hear from North Carolina, that parties of men are diſperſed all over the colony, apprehending ſuſpected perſons, and diſarming all the Highlanders and regulators that were put to the route in the late battle. The conquerors have already taken 350 guns and ſhot bags, about 150 ſwords and dirks, 1500 excellent rifles, two medicine cheſts freſh from England, one of them valued at 300 l. ſterling, a box containing half johanneſſes and guineas, ſecreted in a ſtable at Croſs Creek, diſcovered by a Negro, and reported to be worth 15,000 l. ſterling; alſo thirteen waggons, with complete ſets of horſes. Eight hundred and fifty common ſoldiers were made priſoners, diſarmed, and diſcharged. Col. Long has alſo apprehended ſeveral of their officers, who are now in Halifax gaol, *viz.* Col. John Piles, Major Thomas Collins, Captains David Jackſon, Enoch Bradby, John Piles, and Thomas Bradford; Lieutenants Stephen Parker and Daniel M'Donald, the latter wounded through the thigh; Enſign Downing, and Doctor Robertſon. There are in the ſame gaol four perſons of the name of Field, one Turner, and three Bells; a midſhipman, and a quarter gunner of the Scorpion; likewiſe one Kingſborough M'Donald, Colonels Hugh M'Donald, Thomas Rutherford, Hector M'Neal, and Alexander M'Donald; Captains Morriſon, M'Kenzie, Thomas Weir, Leggate, Solomon Groſs, Parſons, M'Coy, Muſe, John Micheſon, Neil M'Carter, and Adjutant Fraſer; Lieutenants Colin M'Iver, Joſhua Hews, —— Cameron, Donald Hews, Donald Cameron, and ſundry other Lieutenants and Enſigns, whoſe names we have not an account of; Kenneth M'Donald, aid de camp, James Hepburn, ſecretary, Parſon Beattie, Aaron Verdy, W. Maſter, and Dr. Morriſon, commiſſary. General M'Donald and Brigadier General M'Leod (the latter of whom was killed, and the other taken priſoner) ſet out at the head of this banditti with the avowed intention of carrying Governor Martin to the interior parts of the province. Theſe two officers paſſed through Newbern a few months ago, where they took a ſolemn oath, before the committee of that town, that their buſineſs in the province was only to ſee their friends and relations.

We hear from Baltimore, that upon information that the Otter ſloop of war was up the bay, and had taken ſeveral prizes, the ſhip Defence, Capt. Nicholſon, was got ready to meet her, with ſeveral ſmall veſſels to attend her, and proceeded down the river. The Otter had made prize of a large ſhip loaded with wheat and flower. The morning was thick and hazy, and the Defence got nearer than was expected before they diſcovered her bearing down upon them. Thoſe on board the tenders were much alarmed, and puſhed off with precipitation, and on a ſignal given more hands were ſent by the Otter to aſſiſt in rowing them off, which was effected with difficulty. Three or four ſmall prize veſſels were abandoned, beſides the large ſhip. The Defence retook the veſſel, clued up her courſes, and prepared for battle; but Squire was afraid to engage, and thought it ſafeſt to bear away. Capt. Nicholſon continued his ſtation ſome time, and having performed this gallant action, rerurned to Baltimore with his prizes.

On Friday ſe'nnight, in the evening, a tender ran aground oppoſite to Jameſtown; the crew not being able to get her off, threw the guns overboard, and went off in their boat, leaving her for our men to take poſſeſſion of, which was done the next day. She is fitting up for ſervice, and will be ready in a few days.

A veſſel with a conſiderable quantity of gunpowder went up Potowmack this week, and has landed the cargo.

In a London paper of October 16th is the following paragraph: "*Extract of a letter from* Glaſgow, *October* 6. The magiſtrates "and town council of this city having intended to ſend up an "addreſs to the King, the merchants aſſembled; when ſome of "them were deputed to wait upon the Provoſt, which they did, "and remonſtrated in very ſtrong terms againſt ſuch a proceeding. "It is believed no addreſs will now be ſent up; but if there "ſhould, it is expected a petition will be ſigned by the merchants "and manufacturers, begging that an end may be put the preſent "unneceſſary, unnatural, and ruinous war."

NORTH CAROLINA, *March* 4, 1776.

On the 27th of February laſt a detachment of the army under the command of Col. Caſwell, was attacked by about 2000 Highlanders and regulators, at Moore's creek bridge, about ſixteen miles above Wilmington. A general engagement enſued, and a complete victory was obtained, the enemy broken and routed, leaving about 30 dead and mortally wounded in the field. Among the former was General M'Leod, their commander in chief. Brigadier General Donald M'Donald is priſoner.

Publiſhed by order of the provincial council.

CORNELIUS HARNETT, P.

☞ *We are obliged to defer ſundry advertiſements which came too late for this week's gazette.*

Advertiſements.

The BRIG HELENA,

ROGER STUART *Maſter*,

NOW lying off *Portſmouth*, Burthen 360 Hogſheads of Tobacco, a prime Sailer, almoſt new, and well calculated for Paſſengers, will ſail for *Glaſgow*, or any Port in *Britain*, in the Month of *April*, with Paſſengers, if forty can be engaged before the 10th, at twelve Guineas each, and find their own Bedding and Proviſions. 2

LOUDOUN, *March* 15, 1776.

ALL thoſe indebted to Mr. ANDREW LEITCH, Merchant in *Dumfries*, for Dealings in the Store, are hereby deſired to make Payment to the Subſcriber, and to take Notice, that no other Perſon has any Right to grant Diſcharges for the ſame. ‖ HUGH STEUART.

☞ The ſaid *Steuart* alſo gives Notice, that he is no Way connected in Trade with ſaid *Leitch*.

BLANDFORD, *March* 12, 1776.

I intend to leave the Colony

THOMAS CRAUFURD.

TO BE SOLD

At BLANDFORD, *on* MONDAY *the* 8*th of* APRIL *next, to the higheſt Bidders*,

THREE very valuable Negro Fellows, one of whom is a very good Ship Carpenter; alſo two SCHOONER FLATS, one 85, the other 70 Hogſheads Burthen. Twelve Months Credit will be allowed, the Purchaſers giving Bond, with approved Security, to

THOMAS CRAUFURD.
JOSHUA POYTHRESS, Jun.

ON my Journey from WILLIAMSBURG, through *Cobham*, over *Wall*'s Bridge, in *Surry* County, I loſt a ſmall MOROCCO LEATHER POCKET BOOK, with Aſs Skin Leaves, containing the following Paper Bills, as well as I can remember, *viz.* One or two of 12 l. three of 8, one of 5, one of 3, one of 2, ſix or ſeven of 1, and a few ſmall Bills; alſo ſome Orders, and a Letter directed to *Thomas Newton*, Jun. Eſquire. Whoever will deliver the above to Capt. *Arthur Sinclair* at *Cobham*, to the Printers hereof, or the Subſcriber at *Warwick*, ſhall be handſomely rewarded. CHARLES THOMAS.

PORMSMOUTH, *February* 26, 1776.

WHEN I publiſhed my Intention of leaving this Colony, in the *Norfolk* Gazette, laſt *Auguſt*, I intended that *Alexander Roxburgh* ſhould conduct the Buſineſs of the Concern of *Cuming*, *Warwick*, and Co. during my Abſence; but finding he cannot obtain Liberty to come here to take Charge of the Company's Affairs, and that my Abſence is immediately neceſſary, I am under the diſagreeable Neceſſity of preventing *Anthony Roxburgh* from leaving the Country, as he intended and wiſhed, that he may, in my Abſence, conduct and tranſact the Buſineſs of the ſaid Concern; for which Purpoſe I have fully empowered him, as well as *Alexander Roxburgh*, to act for the Concern in every Reſpect as I myſelf could; and of which I hereby requeſt all Perſons concerned to take Notice.

‖ ANTHONY WARWICK.

LOST, *in or near* YORK *Town*,

A GOLD WATCH,

with Gold Hands, the Maker's Name *Delander*; ſhe runs on a Diamond, and had to her a Lady's Steel Chain, with a Seal of *Virginia* Stone ſet in Gold, ornamented with a Coat of Arms.---- Whoever delivers it to the Printers ſhall be genteelly rewarded.

The noted Horſe

CRIPPLE,

NOW in high Perfection, will ſtand at my Houſe this Seaſon, and will cover Mares at 15 s. the Leap, and 40 s. the Seaſon; if by the former, the Money will be expected with the Mares. Good Paſturage *gratis*, and the beſt Care ſhall be taken of the Mares, but I will not be anſwerable for any that may be loſt.

1‖ WILLIAM O. WINSTON.

HANOVER, *March* 23, 1776.

OSCAR,

A BEAUTIFUL Sorrel, 5 Feet 3 Inches high (got by YOUNG SNIP, his Dam by Lord *Morton*'s ARABIAN, his Grandam by OLD CRAB, his Great Grandam by the BALD GALLOWAY, his Great Great Grandam by *Darcy*'s ARABIAN, out of BAY BOLTON's Dam) and in high Perfection, ſtands this Year to cover Mares at Mr. *Alexander Shaw*'s Plantation on *Monk's Neck*, about 8 Miles above *Peterſburg*, in *Dinwiddie* County, where there are between 3 and 400 Acres of as fine Paſturage as any in the lower Parts of the Colony, great Part of it being exceeding fine Meadow, where Mares that come by the Seaſon will be taken great Care of, but I will not be anſwerable for any that may eſcape. Gentlemen who ſend Mares may rely on their being returned in good Order. A Piſtole ready Money, or a Guinea if booked, for the ſingle Leap, or three Piſtoles by the Seaſon. NEILL BUCHANAN, Junior.

LOST, the 5th Inſtant, in *Williamſburg*, out of a Gentleman's Pocket, 100 SLIPS of the new PISTEREEN BILLS. A Reward of 5 l. will be given to any Perſon who delivers the above to Capt. *Charles Fleming* of the 7th Regiment, or the Printers of this Paper. ‖

AMELIA, *March* 10, 1776.

I intend to leave the Colony

ſoon. ‖ GEORGE WRIGHT.

AYLETT's, *March* 18, 1776.

I intend to leave the Colony

immediately. 1‖ JOHN M'NAIR.

HANOVER *Town*, *March* 14, 1776.

I intend to leave the Colony

ſoon. MALCOLM HART.

BLANDFORD, *March* 20, 1776.

I intend to leave the Colony

ſoon. 2‖ JAMES CRANSTONE.

NEWCASTLE, *March* 20, 1776.

DR. *Campbell* will ſell or rent his Houſes and LOTS in *Newcaſtle*.----The Subſcriber will leave the Colony ſoon. 1‖ COLIN CAMPBELL.

RUN away, on the 7th of *February* laſt, a young Negro Fellow named QUASH. He is rather of the yellow Complexion, 5 Feet 7 or 8 Inches high, about 21 Years old, of the Middle Size, has a Scar near the Crown of his Head, occaſioned by a Scald when young, and a down Look when ſpoken to. He had on, when he went away, a Cotton Shirt, his Jacket, Breeches, and Stockings of blue Wool and Cotton mixed, a Pair of coarſe *Virginia* Shoes, and an old Hat. I underſtand he has been lately ſeen lurking in and about *Williamſburg*. Whoever apprehends the ſaid Slave, and ſecures him in any public Gaol, giving me immediate Notice thereof, ſhall have 20 s. Reward, or if delivered to me in *Glouceſter* County, 40 s. 2‖ SAMUEL CARY.

RUN away from the Vineyard, a little below *Williamſburg*, a Negro Man named SAUNDY, 5 Feet 6 Inches high, about 27 Years old, knock kneed; had on, when he went away, a dark red *Newmarket* Coat. I have been informed he is lurking about *Williamſburg*. Whoever brings him to me ſhall have 15 s. Reward, beſides what the law allows.

tt ANDREW ESTAVE.

ABOUT the 2d or 3d of this Inſtant (*March*) ſome Perſon at *Suffolk* gave a Negro Man in my Service, inſtead of a two Dollar bill, one of more Value. The Perſon who made this Miſtake, by applying to me, and giving a ſatisfactory Account of the Affair, will have the Money reſtored, after paying Charges. If no Application is made in four Months, I ſhall return the Money to the Negro.

2 JOHN HAWKINS.

To the INHABITANTS *of* VIRGINIA.

Frigidus, o pueri, fugite hinc, latet anguis inherba.

VIRG.

Take care, my friends, on dangerous ground you tread.

My Countrymen,

THE ſtate of our public affairs appears to be at preſent in a more critical ſituation than it has been at any time ſince the commencement of the quarrel which has ſo much agitated the minds of people, both in Great Britain and America. The principles of a diſpute, ſo long conteſted before the whole world, I need not recite to you. You have ſeen it in its birth, and your own deliberations and exertions have conducted it to its preſent point. The ſingle queſtion, that has for many years diſturbed the public tranquillity, is well known on this ſide the Atlantic to be, whether the Parliament of England has a right to bind us by their laws in *all caſes whatſoever*, or in *no caſe at all*, without our own conſent? For reaſon and good policy can diſcern no medium: And indeed no medium has been ſought on either ſide; for the former is maintained in its utmoſt extent in Britain, the latter with no leſs firmneſs in America. And after many reſolves and petitions, and after a long ſuſpenſion of trade, and the milder methods of obtaining redreſs, you have at laſt been conſtrained to take up arms in your own defence. And I pray God that the conteſt may be decided by arms alone; for I fear leſt we ſhould be led into a ſnare, where the bait may be diſpoſed with ſo much craft, that many, miſled by generoſity of diſpoſition, and others, wearied with uncertainty and delay, or ſeduced by motives of intereſt, may unwarily be decoyed by it without obſerving their danger. The ſnare to which I refer is the NEGOTIATION which the Britiſh Miniſtry propoſe to enter into with the ſtates of America, in the beginning of the next campaign. Although we have been declared rebels by both Houſes of Parliament, as well as by the King, to preſerve a conſiſtency with their former meaſures; and although they have menaced us with all the power they are able to command, to ſuppreſs this pretended rebellion; yet we receive the moſt authentic intelligence, that they deſign to accompany their armaments with commiſſioners to ſeveral of the colonies, to *negotiate* terms of ſubmiſſion to Great Britain. A meaſure, it is evident, they would never have adopted, if they had not entertained ſome doubts of the ſucceſs of the ſanguinary projects in which they had before embarked; and if their long acquaintance with the policy of courts and fineſſe of NEGOTIATIONS, had not taught them that ſucceſs, if ſucceſs be attainable, is moſt likely to be accompliſhed by this means. And if *our* attachment to Britain; if the proſpect of peace, which ſeems to be doubly flattering, after diſtractions ſo great, and of ſo long duration, do not *blind us*, and hurry us into the meaſure before we have anticipated maturely all its conſequences, *we* may eaſily foreſee that we ſhall be expoſed to greater danger by NEGOTIATION than by arms. It is well known to what an exceſſive height bribery and corruption has been carried in England. As much of the public treaſure is proſtituted to this iniquitous purpoſe as might redeem the nation, in a few years, from that enormous debt under the load of which every nerve of the body politic begins to crack. And can we ſuppoſe that the treaſure of England will be leſs profuſely applied to buy their favourite meaſure into effect from the men who lead the councils of the colonies, than it has been to purchaſe a majority in both Houſes of Parliament? They to whom we have hitherto delegated the taſk of ſteering the ſtate through the preſent troubles merit every acknowledgment we are capable of making to them, for the wiſdom and integrity of their conduct. But they muſt have ſucceſſors. Good policy, in a free ſtate, requires that great power ſhould not be ſucceſſively entruſted in the ſame hands too often. The innocence of the cottage is frequently corrupted, when it is produced into the public ſcenes of honour and ambition. There is a ſituation in life in which a man may act with great and deſerved applauſe; but we reaſon wrong if we therefore conclude, that there are no temptations capable of corrupting his virtue. We may repent our credulity if we unſuſpiciouſly reſign too far to his honeſty without uſing any precautions againſt the frailty of human nature. I believe modern virtue is in no country carried to ſo great a height as it is in America. I have as high a veneration as a wiſe man ought to have for the Conventions of the different colonies, and for the Continental Congreſs; but ſhall we be in no danger by acting with an incautious reſignation, as if every man in theſe numerous aſſemblies, like Curius, could reject the coſtly and royal bribes of the Samnites with a virtuous diſdain? If they are to be bought, if they have not attained a perfection almoſt beyond the condition of human nature, they may make their own terms; no price will be denied that can be raiſed out of the future revenues of America. Our danger is the greater, becauſe all the parts of their demands are ſo inſeparably linked together, that the minuteſt conceſſion involves in it, and draws after it all the train of evils, and innumerable others, againſt which we have complained and fought ſo long. Or if the voice of one or two colonies ſhould be bought from among the reſt, it may throw us into endleſs diſtractions, and prolong and increaſe the horrors of the war, by nurſing enemies in our own boſom, more formidable than thoſe we encounter from abroad.

Beſides, what are we to expect from a NEGOTIATION? The ſingle queſtion in diſpute is, whether we are ſubject to the Britiſh legiſlation, conſiſting of King and Parliament, or to the legiſlatures of America, conſiſting of the King's repreſentative, and the Parliaments or Aſſemblies of the different colonies. If the Engliſh Houſe of repreſentatives mean to relinquiſh their pretended rights, what is eaſier than to open the way to peace and harmony, in which we can meet them with confidence, by paſſing a ſingle bill, declaratory of our privileges? Such a bill they will make no difficulty to paſs, if they mean to meet us upon ſincere and equitable principles. If they make their approaches under any other pretext, they muſt be totally futile, and, according to the common policy of European courts, only meant to deceive. Are we likely to be any nearer an accommodation, after they have repealed three of their obnoxious acts? The reſt remain in force, and the PRINCIPLE, the inquitous PRINCIPLE on which they are all founded, is ſtill ſuppoſed to be true, and is kept up like a ſluice, ready to pour in an inundation of oppreſſions whenever it ſhall be admitted on our ſide of the water. Does it not kindle every honeſt man's indignation to ſee the whole continent inſulted in the *refuſal* of theſe acts, as much as, or more than, in their *creation*? I can ſcarcely ſuppreſs the expreſſions of the warmeſt reſentment, when I conceive them approaching my country with the falſeſt propoſals of treaty, and at the ſame time inſulting with the utmoſt indignity, our ſuppoſed credulity, or ignorance. They have repealed the Boſton port bill, it is ſaid; and no doubt they will make a mighty merit of conceding *ſo* far for the ſake of peace. A meritorious conceſſion indeed! to open the ports of a town to their half-ſtarved ſoldiers, after they have expelled its native inhabitants, burnt its houſes and ſtores, pillaged its wealth, blocked up the only paſſage by which it can manage its trade with the country, and rendered it totally impoſſible to reap any benefit from the repeal! In whoſe emolument does all this parade of condeſcenſion iſſue? Not in that of the colony; ſtill leſs in that of the juſt proprietors of the town. It is then, I preſume, for the *uſe and behoof* of their officers and ſoldiers; a company of miſerable wretches, in the conſtant terror of their lives, who neither know how, nor have time nor money to make uſe of the privilege, unleſs it be to import ſome potatoes and porter to keep in their ſouls, and drown the ſenſe of their miſery. *That* I ſuppoſe the *humanity* of their maſters would not have denied them, if the act had ſtood in the ſame predicament that it was. About half as much, upon a juſt computation, may be placed to the account of their merit for the repeal of the fiſhery bill. I will venture to aſſert, and I dare almoſt engage to prove it, that they have had no deſign for nine months paſt to prevent the preſent inhabitants of Boſton from devouring all the fiſh which they had time and courage to take. It would have been very cruel, becauſe they were in a pet with New England, to have made no diſtinction in their wrath, but have ſcourged their own children along with their ſervants, and ſet them down to a dry morſel of potato, without any ſauce. So that the ſum total of Parliament merit may be pretty fairly expreſſed in the ſtile of the algebraiſt, thus: The repeal of 1 bill for the adminiſtration of juſtice + 1 port bill + 1 fiſhery bill = o—3; that is, three full bills leſs than nothing. A worthy bottom on which to open a NEGOTIATION! And yet, what conceſſions do they expect on this account from us? They have the inſolence to demand an acknowledgement of the right to alter, cut up, new model, and annul our charters, whenever a whimſical Miniſter takes it in head that he is not complaiſantly treated, becauſe we refuſe to choak ourſelves with tea; or to glut the avarice of half a million of ſwag-bellied penſioners out of our private purſe, and to be bound by their laws in all caſes whatever. Since they offer terms of accommodation on one ſide, I think we have a right to ſtate our demands on the oppoſite column. But this I ſhall reſerve for another paper.

A PLANTER.

CYPHAX

STANDS at the Subſcriber's Plantation in *James City*, and covers Mares at ten Shillings the Leap, twenty five Shillings the Seaſon, and forty Shillings to enſure a Foal. He is juſt riſing eight Years old, a beautiful Bay, fifteen Hands and an Inch high. He was got by the noted old Horſe JANUS, out of an imported Mare. Good Paſturage *gratis*, but I will not be anſwerable for any Mares that may get away or die.

5‖ JOHN WALKER.

The beautiful high bred cheſtnut Horſe

DAMON,

FULL 5 Feet 5 Inches high, and well proportioned, now riſing 8 Years old, and in the higheſt Perfection, ſtands at my Plantation in *Glouceſter* County, and will cover Mares at 4l. the Seaſon, or 30s. the Leap. The Gentlemen who ſend Mares to him muſt ſend the Money, or promiſſory Notes payable on Demand; otherwiſe they will not be received. I have very fine Paſtures for the Mares, and will have great Care taken of them, but will not be liable for any that may ſtray away.

NORTH *River*, GLOUCESTER *County*. } 6 MANN PAGE, Junior.

PORT ROYAL, *March* 10, 1776.

I intend to leave the Colony ſoon. ‖ MACLAURIN GILLIES.

LOUISA, *March* 5, 1776.

We intend to leave the Colony. JAMES MARSHALL. JAMES M'CASKIE.

COMMITTED to *Eſſex* Gaol, a Negro Man who ſays his Name is JAMES, and that he belongs to Mr. *James Watſon* of *Louiſa* County. The Owner is deſired to proved his Property, pay Charges, and take him away.

‖ ALICE EMERSON, Gaoler.

HALIFAX COUNTY, *February* 15, 1776.

I intend to leave the Colony ſoon. (‖) DONALD M'NICOLL,

HALIFAX COUNTY, *February* 15, 1776.

I intend to leave the Colony ſoon. (‖) JOHN SMITH.

CABIN POINT, *March* 7, 1776.

I intend to leave the Colony ſoon. (‖) JAMES CURRIE.

BLANDFORD, *March* 4, 1776.

I intend to leave the Colony ſoon. (‖) JOHN HAMILTON.

BLANDFORD, *March* 4, 1776.

I intend to leave the Colony ſoon. (‖) CHARLES GALBRAITH.

WARWICK, *February* 27, 1776.

I intend to leave the Colony ſoon, and to return in a few Months.

‖ JOHN ROBERTSON.

WANTED,

At the STOCKING MANUFACTORY FREDERICKSBURG,

EIGHT JOURNEYMEN

STOCKING-MAKERS,

To whom conſtant Employ and good Wages will be given, by

ADAM ALLAN.

☞ I am alſo in want of a large Quantity of COARSE STOCKING THREAD, for which I will give a reaſonable Price.

TAKEN up, in *Charlotte*, a SORREL MARE COLT about 2 Years old, 4 Feet 3 or 4 Inches high, and has a ſmall white Streak down her Face. Poſted, and appraiſed to 6l.

‖ WILLIAM BROWN.

TAKEN up in *Cheſterfield*, near *Manchester*, a GRAY MARE about 7 Years old, 4 Feet 6 or 7 Inches high, well made, has a very thick Mane, no perceivable Brand, her left fore Hoof is black, and the reſt of her Hoofs white. Poſted, and appraiſed to 12l.

SAMUEL NIVINS.

ECLIPSE

STANDS at my Stable in *Cumberland* County, and will cover Mares at 20s. the Leap, or 3l. the Seaſon. Good Paſturage gratis, but I will not be liable for Eſcapes. Notes on Demand will be required where the Money is not paid when the Mares are taken away.

4‖ JOHN HARRIS.

☞ ECLIPSE is a beautiful Bay, well marked, and full 15 Hands 3 Inches high; he was bred by the late Col. *John Baylor*, and was got by his Horſe FEARNOUGHT, upon an imported Mare which was got by SHAKESPEAR, one of the firſt Stud Horſes in *England*.

GODOLPHIN,

A BEAUTIFUL bright Bay, high blooded, about 6 Years old, and in great Perfection, ſtands at Mr. *John Baird*'s Plantation in *Prince George* County, near *Blandford*, to cover Mares the enſuiug Seaſon, at a Guinea the Leap ready Money, or 5l. by the Seaſon payable in *October* 1777, but may be diſcharged by the Payment of 3l. in *December* next, or 4l. in *May* following. The Number of Mares put to *Godolphin*, ſince he has been allowed to cover, has gained him ſuch Reputation, as well for the Certainty of his getting Colts, as for their Size and Beauty, that a further Deſcription of him is needleſs.—I have procured two fine large Paſtures, under excellent Fences, and the greateſt Care will be taken of the Mares; but I will run no Riſk.

8‖ THOMAS FEILD.

TAKEN up, in *Goochland*, a ROAN MARE with a Bell on marked S M, ſome Saddle Spots, ſhod before, about 14 Hands high, and branded on the near Shoulder S D. Likewiſe a BLACK HORSE, with ſome Saddle Spots, a Star in his Forehead, ſhod all fours, branded on the off Shoulder ⅁S, and on the near Shoulder ∩; alſo a Brand or Scar on the near Hip, about 10 or 11 Years old, about 13 Hands and a Half high, and a long Bob Tail.——Poſted, and appraiſed, each to 7l.

‖ JOSEPH R. FARRAR.

ROCKINGHAM,

A FINE bay Horſe, 16 Hands high, and well proportioned, will ſtand at Capt. *William Denſon*'s on *Cypreſs* Creek, in the lower End of *Bute* County, to cover Mares at 3l. the Seaſon, or 30s. the Leap, *Virginia* Money. If Gentlemen will pay by the firſt of *October*, I will take 40s. the Seaſon, and 20s. the Leap. Capt. *Denſon* has good Paſturage for the Mares, and good Entertainment for Gentlemen *gratis*, and will uſe his utmoſt Endeavours to prevent any Mares getting away; but I will not be liable for any that may get away.

JOHN WILLIS.

☞ ROCKINGHAM was got by PARTNER, upon an imported Mare belonging to Colonel *Thomas Nelſon*, called BLOSSOM. PARTNER was got by the old *Engliſh* Horſe TRAVELLER, upon the imported running Mare SELIMA. BLOSSOM was got by old SLOE, a famous King's Plate Horſe; her Dam was a Mare belonging to Lord *Rockingham*, that won the King's Plate of a Hundred Guineas for five Years old Mares at *Hambleton*, in *Yorkſhire*, and was got by REGULUS, the Sire of FEARNOUGHT. (11)

TO BE SOLD,

THE PLANTATION where I now live, containing 320 Acres of Land, ſituated about three Miles above *Peterſburg*, whereon is a large new Brick Dwelling-Houſe 54 Feet by 32, with four Rooms and a flush Paſſage below Stairs, and five Rooms above, very commodiouſly contrived, and the Building well executed; a Brick Kitchen 32 Feet by 16, two Rooms below and two above Stairs, with all other neceſſary Offices in good Repair, and ſeveral Orchards of the beſt Kinds of Fruit Trees. This Seat being well known, I think a more accurate Deſcription unneceſſary. The Time of Payment will be made eaſy to the Purchaſer, and the Terms known by applying to Mr. *Thomas Ruffin*, or

tf ROBERT NEWSUM.

TWENTY fine SLAVES for Sale, at *Hanover* Courthouſe, the 1ſt *Thurſday* in *April*, for ready Money. (2*)

For the Iſland of ANTIGUA,

The Sloop PEGGY,

JOHN ROBINSON MASTER.

SHE has good Accommodations for Paſſengers, and will be clear to ſail by the firſt of *April*.——For Paſſage apply to the Captain on Board, or the Subſcriber, who intends to leave the Colony. (2‖) JOSEPH WILLIAMSON.

The noted Horſe

OLD PARTNER,

As VIGOROUS *as ever he was,*

WILL cover Mares this Seaſon, at my Houſe in *Dinwiddie*, about 16 Miles from *Peterſburg*, on the main Road from thence to *Halifax* Town, at the low Prices (having conſidered the Scarcity of Money) of THREE POUNDS the Seaſon, and TWENTY SHILLINGS the Leap; the Leap Money to be in Hand; if booked, THIRTY SHILLINGS. Thoſe whom I know to be careful may have the Pregnancy of their Mares enſured for SIX POUNDS. Excellent Paſturage, under very ſtrong Fences, and Entertainment for Servants attending Mares, *gratis*. The utmoſt Attention will be paid the Mares; but I cannot be liable for Eſcapes and Theſts.

ROWANTY, *March* 1776. 4 ROBERT SKIPWITH.

MANCHESTER, *March* 11, 1776.

I intend to leave the Colony immediately. JOHN CUNINGHAME.